2154

UNCLASSIFIED

COPY 6

COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA IN THE UNITED STATES

Part IX
External Propaganda Media

WHITE HOUSE OFFICE [illegible]
Assistant for National Security Affairs
Records, 1952-61 FBI [illegible]
Box 1, FBI C(5)

DECLASSIFIED
Authority NLE 86-122 #2
By LLO NLE Date 2/25/87

PORTION(S) E.O. 12356 SEC 1.3 (a) 4)
FBI letter 2/18/87
NLE Date 2/25/87

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
John Edgar Hoover, Director

UNCLASSIFIED
CONFIDENTIAL

A

UNCLASSIFIED
CONFIDENTIAL

COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA

IN THE

UNITED STATES

Part IX

External Propaganda Media

August, 1959

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
John Edgar Hoover, Director

59 K

CONFIDENTIAL
UNCLASSIFIED

Dwight D. Eisenhower Library

B

TABLE OF CONTENTS

		Page
	PREFACE.	i
	SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS	ii
	A. Summary	ii
	B. Conclusions	ii
I.	INTRODUCTION	1
II.	COMMUNIST BLOC PRESS AND PUBLICATIONS	3
	A. Volume Entering United States	3
	B. English-Language Publications	5
	C. Distribution Outlets in United States	9
	D. Role of Foreign Communist Fronts	12
	E. Repatriation Campaign.	14
	F. Activities of Diplomatic Establishments	17
	G. Cabled Press Releases	18
	H. Letters to Editors	19
	I. Interviews and News Conferences.	20
III.	COMMUNIST BLOC RADIO AND TELEVISION	23
	A. Expansion of Short-Wave Radio Broadcasting.	23
	B. Content and Manner of Short-Wave Broadcasts	26
	C. Involvement of American Listeners	27
	D. Use of Amateur Radic Operators	29
	E. Exchange of Broadcasts and Telecasts	30
	F. Communist Bloc Officials on American Television . . .	31
IV.	SOVIET BLOC MOTION PICTURES	36
	A. Increase in Production.	36
	B. Nature and Content.	36
	C. Distribution Agencies in United States	40
	D. American Audiences	41
	E. American-Soviet Coproduction Ventures	43

Dwight D. Eisenhower Library

C

V. EXCHANGES BETWEEN SOVIET BLOC AND UNITED STATES. . . . 45

A. Early Exchanges of Persons 45
B. Types of Procommunist American Visitors 46
C. Development of Exchange Program 50
D. Number and Types of Recent Exchanges 51
E. Reactions of Communist Bloc Visitors 57
F. Communist Propaganda Gains from Exchanges. 59

VI. SOVIET BLOC PRIZES AND HONORS 60

A. Peace Prizes 60
B. Awards in Arts and Sciences 62
C. Miscellaneous Honors 63

VII. MEDIA USED BY SOVIET BLOC DIPLOMATS IN UNITED STATES. . 65

A. Social Affairs 65
B. Speeches and Personal Appearances 66
C. Activities of Officials 68
D. Embassy Tours 70

VIII. EPILOGUE 71

SOURCES 73

D

CONFIDENTIAL
UNCLASSIFIED

PREFACE

This is the ninth and concluding monograph in a series of comprehensive studies on communist propaganda in the United States during the period from the establishment of the Communist Party, USA, in 1919 to the present time.

This monograph examines various channels through which foreign communist propaganda is directed at the American people. These vehicles of propaganda include the press and publications, radio and television, motion pictures, exchanges, prizes and honors, and diplomatic mediums.

Material incorporated in this monograph has been compiled from both public and confidential sources. The public sources are identified at the end of the monograph, while the confidential sources have been retained by this Bureau.

The Dwight D. Eisenhower Library

CONFIDENTIAL
UNCLASSIFIED

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

A. Summary

The United States has long been subjected to a heavy treatment of foreign communist propaganda--greatly accelerated since the end of World War II--which has been administered in a variety of ways. The press and publications, radio and television, motion pictures, exchanges, prizes and honors, and various diplomatic activities are the methods utilized by foreign communist propagandists in their never-ending attempt to reach the American people with communist propaganda.

B. Conclusions

1. Newspapers, magazines, books, pamphlets, and other printed propaganda material published by communist bloc nations in English are distributed in the United States in large quantities.

2. A considerable portion of printed communist propaganda matter from abroad is destined for Americans of foreign birth and is published in their native languages.

3. Foreign communist front organizations play a prominent part in the preparation and distribution of printed communist propaganda material aimed at the American people.

4. Communist propaganda is disseminated to this country by communist bloc countries through short-wave radio broadcasts, both in English and in their own languages.

F

5. Leaders of some communist nations have enjoyed propaganda opportunities on American television by virtue of interviews with them by American newsmen and others.

6. Most communist bloc motion pictures shown in the United States have featured "socialist realism," since the function of providing entertainment is only a secondary consideration in communist films.

7. The communist orbit has exploited the propaganda inherent in the exchange of visitors and, in recent years, has developed this exchange into a major communications technique between communist and noncommunist countries.

8. Great efforts are made to impress foreign travelers to communist countries so that they will return home and propagandize their countrymen with their favorable impressions; communist visitors to noncommunist nations, on the other hand, are expected to create good will and to win approval in the countries they visit.

9. Prizes, awards, and honors are bestowed on Americans by communist nations in an endeavor to produce propitious propaganda for the communist movement and to reward Americans who have performed outstanding service to the communist cause.

10. Various diplomatic mediums--such as social functions, speeches and personal appearances of representatives, and embassy tours--are used by Soviet bloc diplomatic officials in this country to ingratiate themselves with the American people and to spread communist propaganda.

Dwight D. Eisenhower Library

G

UNCONFIDENTIAL

I. INTRODUCTION

One important aspect of communist propaganda in the United States remains to be considered. This involves Soviet and other foreign communist propaganda, originating abroad and designed for and aimed at reaching, arousing, and influencing public opinion in this country to further the cause of communism. A constant propaganda barrage is leveled at our Nation through the media of foreign communist press and publications, radio and television, and motion pictures. In addition, exchanges, prizes and honors, and various diplomatic media are used as means of spreading communist propaganda in the United States.

These methods are utilized by communist bloc countries to propagandize the American people in an effort to achieve a number of propaganda benefits, chief of which are the following: (1) to predict the end of capitalism and its eventual replacement by socialism; (2) to project the image of a flourishing, expanding, and inevitable socialist society; (3) to boast of the scientific, technological, cultural, and athletic superiority of the Soviet Union; (4) to show that the industrial output of the USSR is increasing at a much faster rate than that of the United States and that soon it will surpass this country in per capita production; (5) to portray

UNCONFIDENTIAL

the Soviet Union as outstanding in all fields of human endeavor; (6) to prove that greater political, religious, and academic freedom exists in the communist bloc than heretofore; (7) to engender an understanding of and a sympathy for communist nations; (8) to depict world communism as less violently revolutionary than in the past and desirous of achieving socialism in noncommunist countries through "peaceful" or "parliamentary" means wherever possible; (9) to persuade the American people that the communist orbit has nothing but friendly intentions and is interested only in insuring "peace"; (10) to demonstrate the necessity for "peaceful," competitive coexistence between the communist and the noncommunist worlds; (11) to emphasize "peaceful" communist objectives as contrasted with Western militancy and intransigence; and (12) to promote and increase East-West trade.

II. COMMUNIST BLOC PRESS AND PUBLICATIONS

A. Volume Entering United States

The printed word--a traditional and powerful vehicle of propaganda--is one of the main channels employed by communist countries to reach the United States and other noncommunist nations. Newspapers, magazines, books, pamphlets, and other printed material are published for export in the world's major languages, including English.

A veritable flood of printed propaganda matter emanating from the Soviet Union, Red China, and other communist nations is directed at the United States. Newspapers, magazines, books, pamphlets, tracts, and the like are mailed to individuals and organizations in this country in a saturation-type approach. Some intended recipients are communists or communist front organizations. Many, however, are noncommunist individuals and legitimate organizations, including universities, churches, labor unions, foreign-language groups, and publications.

In December, 1940, the Attorney General of the United States ruled that the transmission of certain propaganda into this country by an unregistered agent of a foreign principal would constitute a violation of the Foreign Agents Registration Act. In spite of this ruling, unlabeled

communist propaganda continues to be poured into the United States by unregistered foreign agents.(1)

Following the end of World War II, the Soviet Union greatly expanded the scope of its foreign-language press operations in an attempt to deluge the United States and the free world with communist propaganda. Communist China and the East European satellites have not disseminated their publications abroad on the same lavish or highly organized scale as the USSR.*(2)

An official of the Bureau of Customs has furnished several congressional committees with some illuminating facts and figures concerning the volume of communist propaganda from abroad:

1. In 1955, more than 2,500,000 packages of mail containing over 5,000,000 individual pieces of printed communist propaganda came into the United States as first-, second-, and third-class mail, the bulk of which entered through the port of New York.

2. By 1958, this volume of propaganda matter had almost doubled, increasing to nearly 5,000,000 packages comprising close to 10,000,000 individual items.

3. A high percentage of this material was in a foreign language and was destined for Americans of foreign birth.

*Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

4. While a good portion of this material was imported by persons registered by law to receive it, much of it arrived unsolicited to people whose names apparently had been obtained from telephone, city, and organization directories and similar sources.

5. While the Foreign Agents Registration Act required that much of this material be labeled as communist propaganda when redistributed, Customs and Post Office officials did not see any so stamped.

6. Soviet and satellite diplomatic establishments regularly receive shipments of printed matter but there is no way of knowing how much material is imported in this manner.(3) (4)

B. English-Language Publications

Some 75 important communist propaganda publications are published abroad in English, most of which are disseminated in the United States. These include prestige pictorial magazines; cultural and literary journals; news bulletins and reviews; trade-union, women's, and youth magazines; foreign affairs and foreign trade journals; and sports magazines. The titles of many of these publications are self-explanatory: New Times, for example, is a Soviet weekly journal on world events; China Reconstructs is a monthly prestige pictorial magazine; The Czechoslovak Woman is a

quarterly women's magazine; Hungarian Bulletin is a fortnightly news bulletin; Bulgaria Today is a fortnightly prestige pictorial review; Information Bulletin About Yugoslavia is a monthly news magazine; Young Poland is a monthly youth magazine; Democratic German Report is an East German fortnightly news review; and Rumania Today is a monthly prestige pictorial magazine.

Late in 1958, a theoretical revolutionary journal called the World Marxist Review: Problems of Peace and Socialism made its appearance. Published in English and 14 other languages, this monthly publication more or less replaced the old organ of the now dissolved Cominform, * For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy! Like its predecessor, this new periodical furnishes Soviet guidance to communist parties throughout the world on broad questions of communist dogma and practice.

*The Cominform, or the Communist Information Bureau, to give its full name, was formed in September, 1947, as the organization superseding the Communist International. The Cominform was dissolved in April, 1956, to give credence to the USSR's propaganda line of "peaceful coexistence." The Communist International, or the Comintern, as it was commonly called, was established in 1919 as a union of communist parties throughout the world. Admission to the Comintern was contingent upon the acceptance of 21 conditions. The Communist Party in the United States became an affiliate in 1921 but disaffiliated in 1940. The Comintern was formally dissolved in 1943 as an ostensible gesture of "friendship" and "unity" between the Soviet Union and its World War II allies. The basic principles and objectives of the Comintern, however, are still in effect and are closely adhered to at the present time by the Communist Party, USA.

There are a number of international communist front organizations, each of which has its own propaganda organ printed in English and other major languages for international distribution.(5) Typical of these are Horizons, published by the World Peace Council;* World Trade Union Movement, put out by the World Federation of Trade Unions;* Women of the Whole World, issued by the Women's International Democratic Federation;* and Scientific World, published by the World Federation of Scientific Workers.*

USSR is another English-language propaganda magazine. It is an illustrated monthly, edited in Moscow and printed in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. The forerunner of this publication was a mimeographed news bulletin in English known as the USSR Information Bulletin, which was issued by the Soviet Embassy in Washington, D. C., from 1941 until 1952, when the cold war intervened. In return, the United States Government distributed Amerika,(6) a Russian-language monthly magazine, in the Soviet Union.(7)

*Cited in the Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications, prepared and released by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, January 2, 1957.

Agreement was reached between the two countries in December, 1955, for the resumption of publication and circulation of the two publications. Amerika retained its old format. The Soviet publication, renamed USSR, is now a slick-paper magazine following the pattern of most high-class American picture magazines. It presents a rose-tinted portrait of Soviet life, with photographs and articles on Soviet industry, farming, science, education, athletics, motion pictures, and the like. Each Government is entitled to distribute 50,000 copies of its magazine to the general public (8) (9) and 2,000 additional copies for official use.

Soviet Russia, Red China, and other communist countries each year publish hundreds of different books for propaganda export. In 1957, for example, the Soviet Union published approximately 11,600,000 copies of nearly 300 books of 50 pages or more in English. During the period 1951-1957, Communist China published more than 400 different books in eight different languages, including English, in excess of 4,650,000 copies.

The hundreds of books published by communist nations annually for export cover a wide variety of topics designed to appeal to all possible propaganda target groups. At one end of the scale are books by Marxist theorists in which revolution is blueprinted and at the other end are books

for preschool-age children in which a simple story is told with no propaganda significance. The year 1957 saw a great abundance of books depicting life in the USSR, due primarily to the fact that the 40th anniversary of the Russian Revolution was celebrated. After the Sputniks were launched, popular science books formed a substantial part of Soviet publications for export.

C. Distribution Outlets in United States

Most of the publication and distribution of Soviet propaganda material for foreign consumption is handled by Mezhdunarodnaya Kniga (International Book Publishing Corporation), a semiautonomous branch of the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Trade. Mezhdunarodnaya Kniga maintains a network of outlets throughout the world, having arrangements with over 50 book agencies or bookstores in two dozen countries, including two in New York City--the Four Continent Book Corporation and Imported Publications and Products.

Since its formation in 1940, the Four Continent Book Corporation has supplied communist bloc literature to communist-operated bookstores all over the United States. The Four Continent Book Corporation has registered with the Department of Justice as an agent for four foreign principals, namely, Mezhdunarodnaya Kniga; Kultura Hungarian Trading Company, of Budapest, Hungary; WFTU Publications Limited, of London, England; and Zeit im Bild, of Dresden, Germany.

Imported Publications and Products also handles propaganda publications from the USSR, Red China, and other communist bloc countries. (10) It is owned and managed by Margaret Krumbein, a charter member of the Communist Party, USA, who has registered with the Department of Justice as a foreign agent.

Mezhdunarodnaya Kniga has been represented in the United States in the past by other companies created to disseminate propaganda matter exported to this country. Prior to 1930, such material was distributed by the book department of the Amtorg Trading Corporation, * the Soviet trade organization in the United States, which has offices in New York City. In the 1930's, the book department function of the Amtorg Trading Corporation was taken over by the Amkniga Corporation and later by the Central Distribution Agency, Incorporated, and the Bookniga Corporation. The Bookniga Corporation, in turn, was followed by the Four Continent Book Corporation.

Other propaganda agencies which distribute foreign propaganda material in this country are Sovfoto, Eastfoto, the Am-Rus Literary and

*Cited in the Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications, op. cit., pp. 16-17, 20.

Music Agency, and the East Music Agency, all of which are located in New York City. Sovfoto has the exclusive distribution for Soviet and East European satellite photographs in the United States, while Eastfoto has a similar arrangement for Red Chinese photographs in this country. The Am-Rus Literary and Music Agency has sole rights for distributing Soviet music in manuscript and printed form in the United States, and the East Music Agency has a comparable agreement for Red Chinese music.

All four of these agencies are operated by Edwin S. Smith, a reported long-time communist. Smith is registered with the Department of Justice as an agent for over a dozen foreign principals. These include: Mezhdunarodnaya Kniga; Czechopress, of Prague, Czechoslovakia; China Photo Service, of Peking, China; Agerpress, of Bucharest, Rumania; Centralna Agenja Fotograficzna, of Warsaw, Poland; Zentrale Bildstelle, of Berlin, Germany; Bulgarska Photographia, of Sofia, Bulgaria; Yugofoto, of Belgrade, Yugoslavia; and several other Iron Curtain principals.

Most of the foreign communist literature which reaches the United States is ultimately distributed, directly or indirectly, through communist bookstores which exist in major cities in the country. Stocked with communist literature, the majority of these stores are run by Communist

Party members, and the Party makes up the financial losses which most of them incur.

Literature published and printed in Soviet Russia has been made available to the two leading American communist publishing houses--International Publishers* and New Century Publishers, * both situated in New York City--at nominal cost, on credit, or even free of charge. Thus, the Communist Party, USA, is saved the expense of printing its own literature and, moreover, shares in the profits from the American sales of imported Soviet literature.

D. Role of Foreign Communist Fronts

Foreign communist front organizations have, in recent years, played a prominent role in the propaganda campaign aimed at the United States. In the early 1950's, for instance, a procommunist publication entitled White Book on the American-British Policy of Intervention in West Germany and the Revival of German Imperialism was mailed, unsolicited, to schools and colleges in the eastern section of the United

*Cited in the Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications, op. cit.

States. This book, sent by a German communist front called the National Council of Democratic Germany in Berlin, protested the rearming of West Germany under the leadership of "American industrialist and banking bosses."

During the Korean War, newspapers, magazines, pamphlets, books, and booklets, printed in English and prepared by the Chinese People's Committee for World Peace and by the Chinese Information Bureau, were mailed to relatives of American prisoners of war by various communist front organizations located in London, Paris, Prague, Berlin, and other foreign cities. It has been estimated that in one five months' period, some 5,000 families or next of kin of American prisoners of war received this type of communist propaganda from abroad. This literature stressed the "stupidity" and "futility" of the Korean War and urged a speedy settlement.

Among the more prominent booklets mailed to relatives of American prisoners were Shall Brothers Be, Out of Their Mouths, Thinking Soldiers, and American POW'S Calling from Korea.

Shall Brothers Be consisted of a number of reports allegedly written by American and British prisoners concerning the "humane" treatment given them in Korean prisoner-of-war camps, as contrasted with the "harsh" treatment they had been led to believe they could expect. Out of Their Mouths

LIBRARY

contained the "confessions" of "atrocities" committed by American soldiers involving torture, rape, arson, looting, and the murder of defenseless civilians.

Thinking Soldiers was a collection of "autobiographies" and "sketches" purportedly written by American and British prisoners pertaining to living conditions in their homelands, mistreatment of minorities, the peace theme, and the fallacy of United States foreign policy. American POW'S Calling from Korea included "statements" and "messages" from American and British soldiers telling how "well fed" and "happy" they were in their Korean prison camps.

A number of American physicians in the early 1950's received through the mail a document captioned Exhibition of Bacteriological War Crimes Committed by the Government of the United States of America published by the Chinese People's Committee for World Peace in Peking. It featured what purported to be "statements" and "confessions" of American prisoners of war being held by Chinese communists to support communist claims of germ warfare on the part of the United States in the Korean War.

E. Repatriation Campaign

Americans of foreign birth have always been a prime communist propaganda target. Early in 1955, an elaborate campaign was initiated by communist propagandists to lure former nationals of Soviet bloc countries

to return to their homelands. This repatriation campaign, which reached its peak in 1956, appears to be directed from East Berlin. The campaign has enlisted communist bloc officials serving on diplomatic and United Nations staffs in this country.(11) (12)

The campaign plays on the emotions of former nationals and extols the conditions in communist countries as compared to those in noncommunist countries. The repatriation campaign appeals to those who, for reasons of homesickness, concern for relatives, or disappointment or disillusionment of their hopes and expectations, are susceptible to communist blandishments.(13)

The propaganda campaign began under the guise of various foreign "amnesty" or "homeland" committees. Invitations originated in Czechoslovakia and in East Germany, spreading until they have been sent to the United States in nearly all communist bloc languages. Weekly or monthly publications issued by these committees contain editorials, articles, and letters from individuals in the Soviet orbit destined for former nationals living in the United States in an effort to induce them to return to their native lands.(14)

In certain instances, letters of "gratitude" allegedly written by "returnees" are printed and distributed by these committees. This type of letter generally describes in glowing terms the wonderful reception the returnees received on returning to their "homes" and the fine living and working conditions

The Eisenhower Library

they found in Soviet bloc countries as contrasted with the "unpleasant" conditions prevailing in the United States. (15)

A distinctive feature of this campaign is the promise of amnesty for repatriates Former "political crimes" are to be forgiven for those who return and "redeem" themselves through "honest" service to their native countries. Promises of good jobs, living quarters, food, and clothing, as well as free transportation and medical care and educational facilities for children, are held out to make the offer more attractive. (16)

Homeland committees have been responsible for most of the propaganda in the repatriation campaign. However, many people of foreign birth now residing in this country have received personal letters from their families, relatives, and friends in the communist orbit urging them to return. One woman, a native of Estonia but now living in Seattle, Washington, wrote to her parents abroad. She received a reply from her father and coincidentally began receiving literature from a homeland committee mailed from East Berlin and other cities in Germany.

Chinese residents in the United States--particularly college students--have been the recipients of many personal letters from Red China imploring them to come home. Typical was a letter which a Chinese student at one university received from his sister in Communist China. The sister

discussed various members of the family to make the recipient nostalgic, then proceeded to exalt the "new" China and its need for young intellectuals in the construction of a socialistic society. Many Chinese students from capitalist countries, the sister emphasized, had already returned to China and had been assigned positions of their own choice.

Soviet and satellite diplomatic establishments have employed various forms of persuasion and pressure to help implement the repatriation campaign. The Czechoslovakian Embassy once placed advertisements in some 20 English-, Czech-, and Slovak-language newspapers in New York City, Chicago, Cleveland, and Washington, D. C., appealing to Czechoslovakian refugees to return home. These advertisements pointed out that an amnesty decree issued by the Czechoslovakian Government provided that political refugees returning to Czechoslovakia within six months would be pardoned.(17)

In some cases, communist bloc governments have paid the expenses incurred by repatriates in returning to their native lands.

F. Activities of Diplomatic Establishments

A substantial quantity of unregistered communist propaganda material is distributed in this country by agents of foreign principals in a diplomatic or

consular status who are not compelled to register or label such propaganda by reason of State Department policy.(18) As Customs and Post Office officials have pointed out, Soviet and satellite diplomatic missions regularly receive shipments of printed material from abroad, but there is no way to determine the amount they receive.(19)

An extensive part of the duties of the press and cultural attaches of communist bloc embassies and legations in the United States includes the preparation and distribution of bulletins and newssheets.(20) Communist bloc diplomatic establishments, notably the Soviet Embassy, send out quantities of propaganda unsolicited to newspapermen, chambers of commerce, teachers, public and college libraries, labor unions, and other groups and individuals. To enlarge their mailing lists, the Soviets have been known to rely on city directories, reference books, and similar sources.

G. Cabled Press Releases

Another method employed by the USSR to disseminate its propaganda in this country has been that of dispatching direct cables, in the form of press releases, from Soviet organizations to foreign-language newspapers, labor periodicals, pro-Soviet organizations, and scientific, sports, and medical journals which would accept this service. These cables have been sent for use

by the addresses without cost or obligation on their part, and have consisted, for the most part, of items relating to Soviet farm life, industrial and scientific developments, and similar propaganda matter.

H. Letters to Editors

Residents of communist orbit countries, as well as those of non-communist nations, have occasionally taken advantage of the American free press to spread communist propaganda. In June, 1957, for instance, The New York Times published a letter ostensibly from a Leningrad housewife who said she wished to test whether censorship exists in this country. Most of the ideas expressed in the letter--translated from the Russian--voiced the usual stereotypes of Soviet propaganda. The letter told of the horrors the writer had experienced during World War II and made the familiar charge that American capitalists were feverishly preparing for a new war while the USSR was peacefully engaged in raising the standard of living. The writer ended with a plea that American mothers put a halt to nuclear arming. (21)

In February, 1958, The Washington Post and Times Herald published a letter to the editor purportedly written by a teen-age Vietnamese girl who asked some provocative questions, such as the real reasons for United States aid to Vietnam, whether Americans were aware that "95% Vietnamese people don't like them," whether Americans considered the

Eisenhower Library

Vietnamese as "Negros," and similar pointed questions.(22) The following day, the wife of the Vietnamese Ambassador to the United States wrote a letter of refutation to the Post, observing that "your little Vietnamese girl sounds very much like a very shrewd, grown up Communist." The Ambassador's wife maintained that the letter was inspired by persons who wished to make the American people lose interest in mutual security and foreign aid programs.(23)

I. Interviews and News Conferences

Communist bloc leaders often avail themselves of propaganda opportunities inherent in interviews with prominent noncommunist foreigners. Such interviews provide them with a convenient outlet for having their views reported at length in the noncommunist press throughout the world. In the past three years, Soviet Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev has talked with more foreign--including American--journalists, political leaders, and prominent people than Joseph Stalin did in 30 years. His unprecedented eight-hour interview with Senator Hubert H. Humphrey in December, 1958, for instance, supplied him with a propaganda field day by making banner headlines in the American press.(24)

American newsmen granted interviews by Khrushchev have included such notables as Turner Catledge, managing editor of The New York Times; William Randolph Hearst, Jr., editor in chief of the Hearst newspapers;

Walter Lippmann, columnist; and James B. Reston, Washington correspondent (25) (26)
for The New York Times.

Khrushchev took advantage of two interviews with W. Averell Harriman in June, 1959, in Moscow to express his views on domestic and international affairs. Harriman, onetime American Ambassador to Russia and former Governor of New York, visited the Soviet Union as a special foreign correspondent for the North American Newspaper Alliance, and his articles on that country were widely syndicated throughout the United States. (27)

Khrushchev reiterated to Harriman his faith in the inevitable triumph of communism over capitalism and his certainty that the Soviet economy would soon surpass that of the United States. American prosperity, Khrushchev told Harriman, was due largely to profits made during two world wars, enabling American capitalists "to bribe or buy off your workers with high pay and living standards." But, he predicted, "one day they, too, will overthrow your capitalist system." Khrushchev boasted of growing Soviet strength. "In five to seven years," he prophesied, "we will be stronger than you. We developed the hydrogen bomb before you. We have intercontinental missiles and our rockets carry warheads many times larger than yours." According to Harriman, Khrushchev appeared so confident of Soviet power that he was determined to force a solution of the Berlin situation. (28)

The Dunham Library

In a four-hour conference in Moscow in July, 1959, with a group of seven American governors touring the USSR, Khrushchev commented on war, peace, and the need for Soviet-American cooperation. "We want peace and friendship between all nations, above all between the two biggest and strongest nations," he said. "And if some other nation wants war, we can stop it." He warned that Russia alone had intercontinental missiles on an assembly-line production basis.(29)

Frol R. Kozlov, Soviet First Deputy Premier, wound up his two-week tour of the United States in July, 1959, with a news conference in New York City. He appealed for "peaceful" coexistence between the United States and the Soviet Union, settlement of the Berlin crisis on Russia's terms, increased trade, and a stepped-up exchange of medical, scientific, and agricultural information. He agreed with a statement made by Khrushchev two years before in a filmed American television interview to the effect that the grandchildren of present-day Americans would live under socialism. Kozlov denied that anti-Semitism existed in the USSR today.(30)

III. COMMUNIST BLOC RADIO AND TELEVISION

A. Expansion of Short-Wave Radio Broadcasting

Radio broadcasting, like other forms of mass communication, is regarded in communist nations as a potent instrumentality for disseminating propaganda. The radio is used in the communist bloc to spread every propaganda theme of any significance and especially to give the communist line on current developments. (31)

Soviet leaders were not long in power before they sought to use radio broadcasting to circulate the doctrine of world revolution. In 1920, V. I. Lenin ordered the construction in Moscow of a central radio station for the use of the Comintern. In 1933, a large transmitter, then said to be the most powerful in the world, was built and put at the service of the Comintern.

Since that time, and particularly since the termination of World War II, the Soviet Union has steadily increased its total radio propaganda effort by expanding the scope of its programs and the number and power of its transmitters. In this augmented program, the USSR has been substantially aided by its ability to use the radio broadcasting facilities of the entire Soviet orbit.

Short-wave radio programs beamed at noncommunist countries are recognized by the communist bloc as an especially effective means of disseminating communist propaganda throughout the world. Although complaints

The Dwight D. Eisenhower Library

are constantly emanating from Moscow and satellite capitals concerning the broadcasting activities of Voice of America and Radio Free Europe, many Americans are unaware of the extent to which communists use foreign broadcasts transmitted to the United States in their effort to propagandize this country. (32)

Most communist countries have a home service for domestic consumption and an international or external service for listeners abroad. Broadcasts can be beamed to countries across the Iron Curtain, as short-wave radio can reach great distances and respects no boundaries. Radio Moscow, the principal Soviet short-wave station, transmits two programs nightly to the United States and Canada, one to the east coast and the other to the west coast. The two programs are similar, but not identical.

In addition to Radio Moscow, short-wave propaganda broadcasts directed at North America originate in stations situated in other countries in the communist orbit. The best known are Radio Peking, Radio Prague, Radio Budapest, and Radio Bucharest.

Since the close of World War II, the Soviet Union has stepped up its North American propaganda broadcasting activities, increasing them appreciably almost every year. Its European satellites also began in the postwar era to resort to radio propaganda, both in English and in their own

vernaculars, aimed at compatriots in this country. Red China similarly turned its attention to this continent by inaugurating broadcasts in English, as well as in various Chinese dialects.

In the first six months of 1958, a total of 306 weekly hours were devoted by communist bloc countries to short-wave radio broadcasts to North America--133 hours from the Soviet Union, 145 hours from its European satellites, and 28 from Red China. Soviet broadcasts included 112 hours in English and 21 hours in Ukrainian; the satellites--75 hours in English, 64 hours in languages of their respective countries, three hours in Yiddish, and three hours of music; and Red China--14 hours in English and 14 hours in Chinese dialects.

Soviet short-wave broadcasts throughout the world, including the United States, are supervised and coordinated by the Agitation and Propaganda Section--commonly abbreviated as Agitprop--which is the central Soviet propaganda organ. Among the numerous departments of Agitprop is one dealing with radio. The radio department is divided on the basis of languages into sections, each headed by a Russian and a foreign-language editor. In keeping with this centralized control, all Soviet foreign broadcasts originate in Moscow, from where they may be relayed to other stations in the Soviet orbit for further transmission. (33)

The Library

B. Content and Manner of Short-Wave Broadcasts

Short-wave propaganda broadcasts to America from the communist bloc are specifically tailored for American listeners. On Radio Moscow, for instance, the Soviet version of international and domestic "news" is given every hour on the hour. A review is made of the Soviet press, and commentaries are made on world events. Talks are delivered on such varied topics as the Soviet standard of living, sports, life in the USSR, and flood control in Communist China. Broadcasts invariably present a positive and beguiling picture of the industrial, economic, scientific, cultural, and athletic accomplishments of Soviet Russia. Comparisons of present conditions with those of the pre-Soviet period and with conditions in other noncommunist countries, particularly in economic reports, are frequent.

Radio Moscow's broadcasts range from persuasion to vituperation and are full of half-truths and deliberate falsehoods. A favorite device is to quote from American periodicals or the speeches of United States Government officials, taking their phrases out of context to distort their meaning.(34) Soviet foreign policy is described in these propaganda broadcasts as a consistent force designed to extirpate "fascism" and to strengthen "democracy"; "warmongering circles" and "reactionary forces" in the United States are denounced as "enemies" of the "freedom-loving" peoples of the "new" socialist states.

Soviet broadcasts employ quiet, matter-of-fact tones in their presentation. The programs are conducted by a team of a man and a woman who alternate in announcing, reporting, or reading the program. Apparently the reason for this is that the difference in the pitch and timber of their voices helps to penetrate interference and fading. Speakers on these broadcasts speak impeccable English, some with American accents and others with British accents. (35) (36)

C. Involvement of American Listeners

Soviet bloc broadcasts to the United States often quote excerpts from letters purportedly received from listeners in this country. Radio Moscow features a weekly program called "Moscow Mailbag," in which communications are read from American listeners lauding the programs, and inquiries are answered concerning the USSR.

An American high school student recently mailed ten questions to Radio Moscow seeking information for a commencement address. In return, he received a cablegram promising the answers over the air on ten consec .ve nights. The replies consisted of the stock Soviet propaganda explanations. The first question concerned whether the Russian people knew the real facts behind the Hungarian revolt. The reply given was that Americans had not heard the true story because the American press had "doctored it up." Russia, it was

claimed, went to the "aid" of the Hungarians. Another reply broadcast pertained to the student's inquiry as to the possibility of communism evolving into capitalism. Radio Moscow stated that the Soviet Union, at the present time, was socialistic, not communistic, but emphasized that eventually it would achieve a communist--not a capitalist--state.

American listeners who write to Radio Moscow requesting information regarding broadcasts are usually furnished with several pieces of literature. One is a booklet setting forth the current schedule of broadcasts to North America; another is a brochure of photographs of Moscow buildings and scenes; and a third is a leaflet asking listeners how often they listen to Radio Moscow, at what time, and what they would like to have described on future programs about life in the USSR.

One correspondent from the United States was informed by Radio Moscow that the Four Continent Book Corporation in New York City could supply him with any printed material he might want about Soviet Russia.

In 1957, in observance of the 40th anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution, Radio Moscow announced a contest for its American listeners. Prizes offered were short-wave radio sets, cameras, phonograph record albums, and other items. The contest consisted of six questions, among them being the identity of those who led the Russian Revolution and founded

the first Soviet state; the name of the author of the book, Ten Days that Shook the World; the name of the city on the Volga River where the Red Army crushed the Nazis; and the place held by the Soviet Union in the world in industrial development. Correct replies were said to have been received from 39 contestants.

D. Use of Amateur Radio Operators

Even amateur or "ham" radio operators behind the Iron Curtain are expected to contribute to the propaganda effort. Since World War II, there has been a great increase in "ham" radio activity in the USSR and in other Soviet bloc countries. These amateur radio operators maintain contact with "hams" in the United States and all over the world. Although Soviet bloc "hams" normally confine themselves merely to exchanging contact acknowledgements, one American "ham" reported receiving a contact acknowledgement card from Czechoslovakia which contained a propaganda message on the back calling for an "unconditional banning of atomic weapons as instruments of terror and mass murder."

An international contest of amateur short-wave operators sponsored by the Central Radio Club of the USSR was held in the Spring of 1957. The announced goal of the contest was to strengthen friendly relations among "hams"

The Dwight D. Eisenhower Library

and increase their technical skill. Entrants from 85 countries, including the United States, were said to have taken part. The ten best entrants from each country received "diplomas" from the Central Radio Club, and all other entrants received plaques.

Communist nations have organized and attended international conferences dealing with problems of radio and television. A recent conference was that held in Moscow in May, 1958, by a communist front known as the International Broadcasting Organization. It was attended by 20 member countries, plus observers from the United States and other nations. A message was adopted and sent to radio and television organizations throughout the world stressing the key role that radio and television can and must play in bringing about peaceful cooperation between nations.

E. Exchange of Broadcasts and Telecasts

Negotiations have been going on for several years between the United States and the USSR to arrange for the exchange of nonpolitical broadcasts and telecasts for nationwide distribution, although to date little has been achieved. (37) (38) However, the American Television Newsreel Agency of New York City did conclude an agreement with the Central Television Studio in Moscow for the exchange of television news film on a foot-for-foot basis, with the understanding that each side would refrain from

distortion, both in editing the film and in the commentary. Similar agreements were also reached with various Soviet satellites. As a result, excerpts of news film from communist countries have appeared now and then on American television networks. Among the film clips have been a Christmas party at the Kremlin, a May Day parade in Moscow, a Moscow air show, and a Soviet atomic peace plant.

F. Communist Bloc Officials on American Television

The communist bloc has been afforded golden propaganda opportunities by virtue of the appearances of its leaders on American television screens in recent years. Since the United States has an estimated 50,000,000 television sets, while the USSR, its satellites, and Red China together have only a fraction of that number,(39) foreign communist spokesmen are assured of an infinitely larger audience than their American counterparts would have in Iron Curtain countries. Moreover, the television appearances of communist officials are always well publicized in the American press.

Probably the first filmed television interview with a prominent foreign communist official shown to the American public was that with Red China's Foreign Minister CHOU En-lai. This one-hour interview by Edward R. Murrow was filmed in Rangoon, Burma, during a visit CHOU made to that country in late

The Dwight D. Eisenhower Library

December, 1956, and was presented on Murrow's "See It Now" program ten days later. Murrow was required to submit prepared questions, to which CHOU gave stock answers, including a defense of Soviet action during the Hungarian revolt.(40) (41)

Soviet Premier Khrushchev endeavored to present himself as an amiable, reasonable, "peace-loving" man in an hour-long, nationwide television program over the Columbia Broadcasting System which appeared one Sunday afternoon in June, 1957. The interview with Khrushchev by three American newsmen had been filmed a few days earlier in the Kremlin. Khrushchev's replies to questions amounted to nothing more than the usual Soviet propaganda line that he and his colleagues had mouthed many times before--calling for competitive, "peaceful" coexistence; blaming American military leaders for plotting a war against the USSR; demanding a halt to nuclear tests; et cetera. Khrushchev took this occasion to predict that the grandchildren of his American listeners would be living under a socialist system. At the same time, he forecast world victory of communism over capitalism.(42)

A few weeks later, Edward R. Murrow's filmed interview with Marshal Tito, communist dictator of Yugoslavia, was shown to another nationwide American audience. Tito voiced the customary communist

propaganda cliches, saying that he was for "peace" and coexistence. Like Khrushchev, Tito was careful to put his best foot forward in showing himself as a genial, engaging, and fair-minded individual.(43)

In the Fall of 1958, the National Broadcasting Company, on a Sunday program called "Youth Wants to Know," presented a series of five filmed interviews with Soviet Government officials who had been queried by a panel of American students. The first Soviet leader interviewed was Anastas I. Mikoyan, First Deputy Premier. He was followed by Nikolai Mikhailov, Minister of Culture; Vyatcheslav Yelyutin, Minister of Higher Education; A. A. Blagonravov, member of the USSR Academy of Sciences; and Victor M. Zhdanov, Deputy Minister of Health.(44) (45) (46) (47) (48)

Mikoyan, in his interview, blamed the United States for its failure to remove trade barriers between the two countries, emphasizing that Soviet Russia was ready to negotiate a trade agreement with the United States any time the Department of State wished to do so. Mikhailov denied that art in the Soviet Union was controlled by the Government, but admitted that Boris Pasternak's famous novel, Dr. Zhivago, was not published in Russia because it had "no use for our society."(49) (50)

Mikoyan again appeared on American television screens in January, 1959, as the climax to a whirlwind trip to the United States. On this occasion,

he was interviewed by a group of four American newspapermen on the program, "Meet the Press." The questions asked covered a wide variety of topics, from his impressions of the United States to the Soviet position in the Berlin crisis. On every critical issue, he parroted the Soviet propaganda line in defending Soviet policy and denying allegations of misrepresentation or error. Mikoyan (1) declared that he had been impressed with what he had seen of this country; (2) upheld the handling of world news by the Soviet press; (3) stated that Khrushchev was not following in Stalin's footsteps of one-man rule; (4) said the USSR was not afraid of Red China's rapid development and saw no future threat to the Kremlin from Peking; and (5) expressed deep concern about German rearmament, hinting that another world war could start in that country.(51)

Another Soviet First Deputy Premier, Frol R. Kozlov, was seen on American television during his visit to this country in the Summer of 1959. The occasion was a speech made by Kozlov at a televised luncheon held under the auspices of the National Press Club and the Overseas Writers in Washington, D. C., in July, 1959. Kozlov asserted that Western reports that Soviet leaders wanted to unleash a war were "slander" and were read with "indignation" in Russia. Referring to the cold war, Kozlov claimed that its "authors do not reside in our country." He declared that "the will of the Soviet people is a

sacred law for the Soviet Government" and "members of the Government are the servants of our people." Berlin was termed "a hotbed of provocation and war" by Kozlov. (52) (53)

Under rules of the National Press Club, written questions from the audience are sent to the head table during a luncheon. Kozlov was saved the embarrassment of answering a number of sharp, pertinent questions by the insistence of the Soviet Embassy that Kozlov and Soviet Ambassador Mikhail A. Menshikov screen the questions submitted. (54)

The Dwight D. Eisenhower Library

IV. SOVIET BLOC MOTION PICTURES

A. Increase in Production

The propaganda potential of motion pictures has not been overlooked by communist propagandists from the earliest days of Soviet Russia. Each year since the conclusion of World War II, the Soviet Union and other communist bloc countries have increased the number of films produced. Soviet film production in 1957, for example, approximated 140 feature films. In 1956, 85 feature films were made. This was a considerable increase over the 65 produced in 1955 and a tremendous jump over the 38 made by the Soviets in 1954.

In 1955, 112 films were exported by Soviet bloc countries to the United States, including feature-length films, documentaries, and shorts. Of this number, 99 were from the USSR, six from Czechoslovakia, five from Hungary, and two from East Germany. Seventy-nine of these were feature films, and 33 were documentaries and shorts. The Soviet Union produced 72 of the feature films and 27 documentaries and shorts.

B. Nature and Ccntent

The function of providing entertainment, a dominant factor in American motion pictures, is only a secondary motive so far as communists are concerned. Motion pictures produced in the communist orbit are--like

music, the drama, and other forms of art--closely linked with the communist political and propaganda line and hence bear the stamp of "socialist realism." The "socialist realism" that communists insist upon in their art demands that art be the expression of the revolutionary precepts of Marxism-Leninism, exalting everything relating to communism and disavowing everything contrary to it. (55)

Soviet films--particularly the early ones--place great emphasis upon the glorification of Russia's past, especially that portion of her history which fits or can be made to fit into current communist theories as to the reasons for her greatness. Events leading up to and including the seizure of power by the Bolsheviks have been dramatized again and again and always with world-shaking epics. (56) Representative of films with such propaganda themes which were shown in the United States in the 1920's and the 1930's were: "Lenin in October," "Tsar to Lenin," "Ten Days that Shook the World," "Old and New," "Russia Reborn," "Arsenal," "Diary of a Revolutionist," "Ivan the Terrible," "Potemkin," and "Frontier." (57) (58)

During World War II, Soviet films became highly nationalistic and were devoted principally to war propaganda topics. Some of the films which appeared in the United States during this period were: "Scorched Earth," "This Is the Enemy," "Diary of a Nazi," "Siege of Leningrad," "Russians at War," "Black Sea Fighters," "Wings of Victory," "Fortress on the Volga," and "Moscow Strikes Back."

The Dwight D. Eisenhower Library

Communist films in general--and Soviet films in particular--have always responded to the stresses and strains of communism's ideological and political convulsions. The strict regimentation of Joseph Stalin's day, followed by a cultural thaw and then a gradual retreat toward new rigidity, has been mirrored in the motion-picture industries of Soviet bloc nations. For several years after Stalin's death, the restrictions placed upon writers, directors, and producers of pictures were relaxed. Plots were permitted in which individuals solved their own problems without benefit of the Communist Party. Stalin, the omniscient and benevolent hero of all major Soviet productions, disappeared. The change in Moscow's ideological climate became conducive to the creation of a far more effective propaganda for communism abroad than had the Stalin brand which fostered the production of crude and unadulterated propaganda films.

Among the Soviet motion pictures produced in the post-Stalin period were a number of films free of propaganda and devoted primarily to entertainment, featuring music and dancing, costuming and staging, and color photography. "Romeo and Juliet," "Twelfth Night," "Boris Godunov," "The Inspector General," "Bride with a Dowry," "The Mistress," and "Stars of the Russian Ballet" are some of the films in this category that have made their appearance in the United States in recent years. (59) (60) (61)

In the Spring of 1957, Khrushchev formulated a new ideological and propaganda line in a series of speeches he delivered on the arts. Thus emerged "guided creativity" as a new principle of Soviet art, signaling a return to the communist party's basic objectives, yet free from the absolute rigidity of the past. Films made in the Soviet orbit since then have reflected the reversion to conformity demanded by Khrushchev.

The content of communist films varies widely. Scripts by classical writers, such as Shakespeare and Chekhov, as well as others with revolutionary and postrevolutionary settings, are represented. There are documentaries showing Russian progress in various fields, especially in science, astronomy, and medicine, as well as art films dealing with the performances of dramatic, dance, and musical groups. In some, the propaganda is blatant; in other pictures, overt propaganda is undetectable.

A considerable number of documentaries produced in the USSR in the past several years have stressed Soviet scientific enterprises and accomplishments, especially in the realms of artificial earth satellites, rocket techniques, and atomic energy for peaceful purposes. The Soviet film, "Road to the Stars," which appeared in this country in 1958, gives popular treatment to rocketry and is equally educational and propagandistic. (62)

The Dwight D. Eisenhower Library

In addition to communist feature films which are imported and exhibited commercially, newsreels and short documentaries are purchased from Iron Curtain countries by American newsreel companies which use selected portions of these films in their newsreel products. Only a small percentage of the total footage brought into this country, however, actually is utilized in American showings.

C. Distribution Agencies in United States

In true totalitarian fashion, the export and import of motion pictures in the Soviet Union were long ago concentrated in one Government agency. In 1934, Soyuzintorgkino was formed to handle these functions. In 1946, it was renamed Sovexportfilm, or the All-Union Films Export-Import Unit of the USSR.

For a number of years before World War II, distribution of Soviet films in the United States was handled by Amkino Pictures, Incorporated, of New York City, then an agency of the Amtorg Trading Corporation. When the former dissolved in 1940, its work was taken over by the newly formed Artkino Pictures, Incorporated, which registered in compliance with the Foreign Agents Registration Act as an agent of Soyuzintorgkino and later of Sovexportfilm. After the Soviet satellites came into being, Artkino became the registered agent in this country for Magyar Filmyarto of Poland; Czechoslovakia State Films; Film Polski of Poland; and Sovromfilm of Rumania.

Several years ago, Artkino dropped its agency for Czechoslovakia and Rumania because of the inactivity of their film negotiations. At the present time, Artkino no longer has exclusive rights for the distribution of Soviet motion pictures in this country since cartoons and short subjects have been sold to other distributors.

Artkino distributes 35-millimeter films for exhibition in legitimate motion-picture theaters, but has contracted with Brandon Films, Incorporated, of New York City, for the distribution of the bulk of 16-millimeter films from Iron Curtain countries for showing before clubs and other groups and for use in home projectors. Many of the communist bloc films handled by Brandon Films have been rented and sponsored by Communist Party clubs and by communist front organizations. Brandon Films also imports motion pictures from non-communist countries.

D. American Audiences

Over the years, a number of theaters throughout the United States--especially in such cities as New York City, Chicago, San Francisco, and Los Angeles--have shown communist films. It has been estimated that in 1955 nearly 750,000 persons in the United States viewed 35-millimeter pictures--full-length films, newsreels, and short subjects originating in the Soviet bloc

THE Dwight D. Eisenhower LIBRARY

and distributed in this country. Of this number, an estimated total audience of 330,000 saw newsreels and short subjects, most of such films coming from the USSR.

Film festivals are sometimes employed to create interest in foreign communist films. During the Winter of 1952-1953, for instance, Polish film festivals were held in New York City, Chicago, Milwaukee, San Francisco, Los Angeles, and Washington, D. C. Similar film festivals were again staged in the same cities several years later. No admission was charged to these festivals, admission being by invitation only. All expenses were defrayed by the Polish Embassy in Washington, D. C.

A Soviet film called "Great Is My Country" was shown at a Times Square theater in conjunction with the Soviet Exhibition of Science, Technology, and Culture which was held in New York City in the Summer of 1959. This motion picture was first presented abroad at the Brussels World's Fair in 1958. It is in the form of a travelogue of the USSR, made in color, with a panoramic-screen process utilizing three projectors and nine sound tracks. The film is intended as an alluring cross section of life and activities in Soviet cities, farms, factories, concert halls, theater stages, vacation resorts, and the like. (63) (64)

E. American-Soviet Coproduction Ventures

Grigory Alexandrov, Soviet film director and member of the Ministry of Culture, told an American press conference in 1955 that Soviet Russia would like to buy American films and was interested in an interchange of actors and technicians and in the coprcduction of films. He said that the Soviets were also interested in making motion pictures on location in the United States and in having Americans do the same in Russia. (65)

Yuri Krotkov, a prominent Soviet playwright, once suggested that the late Mike Todd produce jointly with the Soviets a film about the American Civil War. The main characters outlined by Krotkov were a Russian sailor, an American soldier, and Abraham Lincoln. According to Krotkov, who said that he had written a film script, Lincoln's life required "special treatment," as it had been "inadequately" portrayed in American literature.

A cultural exchange agreement, signed by the United States and the Soviet Union early in 1958, included a section on films, a provision of which dealt with the possibility of coproduction.

It was announced in December, 1958, that the first East-West motion picture ever made will be started in 1960 with Russian, British, and American stars and technicians cooperating in a lavish $11,000,000 production. The film, called "Operation Icebreaker," to be made in both English- and Russian-language versions, will tell the story of a wrecked polar airliner and the

The Dwight D. Eisenhower Library

joint efforts of Russian and British vessels to rescue the survivors. About half the picture will be made in Russia. (66)

Eric Johnston, president of the Motion Picture Association of America, announced in January, 1959, that a series of Soviet films will be shown in this country under the 1958 cultural exchange agreement. The films are: "The Cranes Are Flying," "Swan Lake," "The Idiot," "Circus Stars," "Othello," "Quiet Flows the Don," and "Don Quixote." In return, he said that the Russians agreed to take ten American-made films for display in this country, including:"Oklahoma," "Marty," "The Great Caruso," "The Old Man and the Sea," "Lili," and "Roman Holiday." (67)

V. EXCHANGES BETWEEN SOVIET BLOC AND UNITED STATES

A. Early Exchanges of Persons

The Soviet Union has long recognized and capitalized on the propaganda inherent in the exchange of visitors between the USSR and other countries. Over the years, communist propagandists have developed the exchange of persons into a major communications technique between countries in the communist orbit and the noncommunist world, including the United States.

The communist bloc relies on delegations and visitors to spread the communist gospel in two ways:

1. Efforts are made to impress foreign travelers to communist countries with the "advancements" and "progress" under communism with the expectation that they will return to their native lands and pass on their favorable impressions to other people.

2. In a like manner, visitors from the communist bloc to non-communist countries are expected to win the approbation of the countries they visit and to expound on the "accomplishments" and "glories" of the communist world, but to return with the same dim view of the outside world as they had when they left. (68)

Sherwood Eddy, an official of the Young Men's Christian Association, was an early visitor who was "properly" impressed with the "new" Russia. He

Dwight D. Eisenhower Library

visited the Soviet Union in the Summer of 1926 as a member of a party of 24 American businessmen, editors, educators, and social workers. The Daily Worker* later published excerpts from a report made by Eddy, in which he spoke favorably of the "progress" made in that country since 1917. (69)

In the Fall of 1927, the first American trade-union delegation to visit the Soviet Union returned to this country and demanded the immediate recognition of the Soviet Government by the United States. (70) During the 1920's, English-speaking Russian communists are said to have accompanied American labor groups touring the USSR for the purpose of teaching them how to conduct communist propaganda upon their return to the United States.

B. Types of Procommunist American Visitors

Through the years, many travelers to the communist orbit have been officials of the Communist Party, USA, who, naturally, on their return never failed to wax eloquent regarding the "people's democracies" they visited and the Utopian conditions allegedly introduced by communist regimes. In 1947, for example, William Z. Foster, now chairman emeritus of the Communist Party, USA, spent three months traveling in Europe, visiting Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Yugoslavia among other countries.

*The Daily Worker was an east coast communist newspaper which suspended publication on January 13, 1958.

Upon his return, Foster wrote The New Europe, a book in which he told of the powerful role the USSR and the communist parties in the various countries played in the "democratic" advances of postwar Europe.(71)

But it has been the Soviet apologists, communist sympathizers, and dupes, who, on coming home, have served as voluble and valuable communist propagandists by referring favorably to the communist nations they visited in their press interviews, lectures, and writings.

Perhaps the most indefatigable apologist for Soviet Russia and Red China has been Anna Louise Strong. She first went to the Soviet Union in 1921 as a member of an American relief organization, remaining there as founder and editor of an English-language newspaper published in Moscow. In 1949, this life-long friend of the USSR was suddenly denounced as a spy by Soviet authorities and summarily expelled from the country. This turn of events would have disillusioned and embittered almost anyone but Anna Louise Strong. Six years later, the Soviet Government publicly withdrew its accusation and "vindicated" her. Through her continued travels, lecture tours, and books, she has remained one of the most staunch and vocal champions of the USSR and Red China.(72) (73) (74) (75)

Another perennial and loyal defender of the USSR is Paul Robeson, famed American Negro singer-actor, who is reported to be a member of the Communist Party. Since he was first acclaimed by a Soviet audience at the Moscow State

The Dwight D. Eisenhower Library

(76)
Conservatory of Music in 1936, Robeson has been an avid and outspoken propagandist for the Soviet Union. Robeson has traveled to Russia several times, visiting that country in late 1958 at the invitation of the Soviet Ministry of Culture. At that time, he also visited Czechoslovakia.

Communist propagandists have exploited to the fullest the "peace-loving" sentiments expressed by Cyrus S. Eaton, a 75-year-old multimillionaire industrialist of Cleveland, Ohio. In his personal campaign for "world peace," Eaton has advocated a softer approach toward both the Soviet Union and Red China. He has been a vigorous critic of United States Government policies, a strong supporter of doing business with the communist bloc, and a consistent proponent for a summit meeting between President Dwight D. Eisenhower and Soviet Premier Khrushchev. In the past few years, Eaton has made numerous public statements which have coincided with Soviet foreign policy. (77) (78)

Eaton journeyed to the USSR in the Fall of 1958 as a guest of the Soviet Ministry of Agriculture. In Russia, he had talks with Khrushchev and other Soviet officials. As a farewell gift, Khrushchev gave Eaton a troika, an old-fashioned open carriage and three matched horses, plus a trainer's services for two months. (79)

Returning home, Eaton proceeded to give a series of lectures on the international outlook before various business and industrial groups

throughout the country. When Eaton was in Washington, D. C., for an appearance before the National Press Club, Soviet Ambassador Mikhail A. Menshikov furnished Eaton with some propaganda material which the latter wished to use in speeches in Kansas City and Detroit. (80)

The high regard the Soviet Union has for Eaton's propaganda value is evidenced by the fact that during the American tour of Soviet First Deputy Premier Anastas I. Mikoyan in January, 1959, Mikoyan stopped off at Eaton's farm outside Cleveland to present the afore-mentioned troika officially. On returning to Moscow, Mikoyan declared that "we look upon" Eaton and his wife "as our dearest friends." (81) (82)

At the opening ceremonies of the Soviet Exhibition of Science, Technology and Culture in New York City in June, 1959, Eaton occupied a place of honor alongside Soviet First Deputy Premier Frol R. Kozlov, who opened the exhibition on behalf of the USSR.

As previously indicated, many of these apologists, sympathizers, and dupes have been invited abroad by communist regimes for propaganda reasons. Dr. William E. B. Du Bois, well-known Negro author and educator, arrived in Red China in February, 1959, accompanied by his wife. They had been invited to China by the China Peace Committee and the Chinese People's Association for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries. Du Bois celebrated his 91st birthday in Peking and a party was given in his honor. Among the guests were a number of prominent Chinese communists. (83)

THE HOOVER LIBRARY

C. Development of Exchange Program

Recent years have brought about an accelerated exchange of visitors to a degree unheard of in earlier days, bespeaking the determined desire on the part of communists to profit from the propaganda value of such exchanges. The Soviet Union had previously resisted efforts of the United States to develop a long-range cultural exchange program, and cultural relations between the two nations reached a low point in the late 1940's. This was the period of Soviet attacks on "cosmopolitanism," when Soviet citizens were warned of the dire consequences resulting from association with foreign "spies."

During and after World War II, the United States Government made an energetic attempt to lay the foundations for closer American-Soviet cultural, educational, and scientific exchanges but was unsuccessful due to obstructions on the part of the Soviet Government. By 1947, the Soviet policy of almost total closure of Russia to Western contacts prevailed.(84)

Stalin's death in March, 1953, marked the beginning of a gradual increase in the number of visitors to and from Russia. The American-Soviet exchange of persons program gained impetus after the summit conference of the heads of the Governments of the United States, Soviet Russia, Great Britain, and France at Geneva, Switzerland, in July, 1955. (85) In December, 1956, the United States temporarily suspended the program following the Hungarian revolt, but resumed it four months later. (86)

In January, 1958, a comprehensive exchange agreement was signed by the United States and the USSR after three months of negotiations. The agreement covered a number of provisions, ranging from an exchange of radio and television programs and recordings of folk music to delegations of industrialists, agriculturists, concert stars, and university professors. (87)

D. Number and Types of Recent Exchanges

At the end of the first year following this exchange agreement, 952 Americans, traveling in 81 separate delegations, journeyed to Russia. In return, 565 Russians came to the United States as part of 70 delegations. Both Soviet Russia and the United States evidenced the keenest interest in exchanging industrial experts. Forty-six Soviet industrial delegations toured the United States, while 40 American industrial groups visited the Soviet Union. This exchange included experts on steel, electronics, plastics, chemistry, electric power, and engineering.

Six agricultural exchanges were carried out during the year. In the cultural, entertainment, and sports fields, 23 American delegations went to the USSR in return for similar trips by 16 Soviet groups to this country. In the field of education, 18 American student groups traveled to Soviet universities and schools, while eight Russian student groups came to the United States. Delegations ranged in size from two to 14, although some student groups numbered as high as 20.

Most of the delegations and visitors from Soviet bloc countries have come from the USSR, but there have been a substantial number of Poles. Comparatively few delegations have originated in Czechoslovakia, and fewer yet in Rumania and Hungary. Czechoslovakia and Rumania have restricted their exchange programs because of their objections to United States finger-printing requirements, while the exchange program with Hungary has been dormant since the Hungarian uprising. (88)

VOKS, officially known as the Union of Soviet Societies of Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, handles delegations coming to the USSR from other countries and supervises Soviet delegations abroad. It is also charged with maintaining liaison with the many Soviet "friendship" front organizations which exist in other countries. VOKS, an arm of the Soviet Government, was formed in 1925.

Foreign visitors and delegations are taken in hand by Intourist, the Soviet travel agency, whose official title is the All-Union Stock Company for Foreign Tourism. Founded in 1929, Intourist prepares itineraries, arranges transportation, handles hotel accommodations, supplies interpreters and guides, and provides similar travel services. (89) (90) (91)

Visitors and delegations to and from communist countries--particularly the Soviet Union--and the United States in recent years have been exceedingly diverse. American delegations to Soviet bloc countries have

included the following: political scientists, engineers, physicists, farmers, students, home builders, physicians, coal experts, magazine editors, industrialists, pharmacists, social security officials, lawyers, educators, medical scientists, public health officials, restaurant operators and caterers, and church leaders. (92) (93) (94) (95) (96) (97) (98) (99) (100)

Among the entertainment figures and groups from this country which have visited the Soviet orbit are the following: Yehudi Menuhin and Isaac Stern, violinists; Jan Peerce and Blanche Thebom, Metropolitan Opera stars; the Boston and the Philadelphia Symphony Orchestras; a "Porgy and Bess" troupe; the Glenn Miller Orchestra; and an ice show. American track, basketball, weight-lifting, and chess teams and parachute jumpers have competed with Soviet teams abroad. (101) (102) (103) (104) (105)

A number of prominent Americans have made trips to Russia in the past several years. These include Vice President Richard M. Nixon; Chief Justice Earl Warren; former Governors Adlai E. Stevenson and W. Averell Harriman; Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt; Senator Hubert H. Humphrey; Ellsworth Bunker, former president of the American Red Cross; General Nathan F. Twining, former Chief of Staff of the United States Air Force; Billy Graham, the evangelist; (106) (107) (108) (109) (110) and Charles S. Rhyne, past president of the American Bar Association.

Similar exchange groups from Soviet bloc nations--the majority of which have been from the USSR--have visited the United States. These include agriculturists, medical scientists, housing experts, social security officials, economists, religious leaders, architects, physicists, health officials, journalists, educators, engineers, physicians, steel experts, scientists, (111) (112) (113) (114) (115) (116) (117) (118) television specialists, and students.

Soviet bloc cultural celebrities and groups that have appeared in this country include: Emil Gilels, pianist; Mstislav Rostropovich, cellist; Zara Douloukhanova, mezzo-soprano; David Oistrakh and Leonid Kogan, violinists; the Beryozka Dance Ensemble; the Moiseyev Dance Company; the (119) (120) (121) (122) (123) (124) (125) Smetana Quartet; and the Bolshoi Ballet.

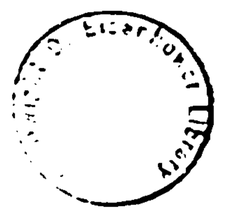
In the field of sports, the USSR has sent track, wrestling, weight-lifting, and ice hockey teams to compete in this country. In the Fall of 1958, two Soviet horses participated in the seventh running of the Washington, D. C., (126) (127) (128) International at the Laurel, Maryland, race track.

Many high-ranking Soviet officials have journeyed to the United States in recent years either individually or as members of various delegations. These include Anastas I. Mikoyan and Frol R. Kozlov, each a First Deputy Premier; Vladimir Matskevich, Minister of Agriculture; Yuri Zhukov, Chairman of the USSR State Committee for Cultural Relations with

Foreign Countries; Konstantin Sergeychuk, First Deputy Minister of Communications and Post Offices; Vladimir Surin, First Deputy Minister of Culture; Yevgeni Chekmenov, Deputy Minister of Agriculture; A. I. Markushevich First Deputy Minister of Education; Lyudmila Dubrovina, Deputy Minister of Education; and Sergei Romanovsky, Chairman of the Committee of Soviet Youth (129) (130) (131) (132) (133) (134)
Organizations.

First Deputy Premier Mikoyan gave a remarkable propaganda performance on his "unofficial" coast-to-coast trip in January, 1959. In between luncheons, dinners, and press conferences, Mikoyan inspected a restaurant, a motel, a supermarket, and several department stores; joked with Hollywood comedians; made unannounced visits to several average American families; strolled through downtown Washington peering into store windows; gave candy (135) (136) (137)
to a baby; shook hands with workers in plants; and examined gadgets.

Mikoyan talked with President Eisenhower, Vice President Nixon, the late Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, and other Government officials, Senators, labor leaders, industrialists, and civic leaders. He urged "peace" and an end to the cold war, as well as more trade and contacts between the United States and Soviet Russia. Everywhere Mikoyan went, he tried hard to establish a picture of a Soviet leader as a warm, friendly, and human type of a person. But he left little doubt in anyone's mind that he was an extremely able (138) (139) (140)
and articulate spokesman for communism and the Soviet Union.



A repeat performance of Mikoyan's trip was given six months later by First Deputy Premier Kozlov, when he visited this country in the early Summer of 1959. In Washington, Kozlov conferred with President Eisenhower, Vice President Nixon, Secretary of State Christian A. Herter, and congressional leaders; lunched with members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee; and spoke at a televised press luncheon sponsored jointly by the National Press Club and the Overseas Writers. (141) (142) (143)

Kozlov exuded confidence, good will, and jollity. He was adept at the familiar Soviet technique of being genial and tough in turn. He stumped America in his two-week transcontinental tour. In a supermarket in the Nation's Capital, Kozlov smiled at women shoppers; in California, he donned a ten-gallon hat and a six-shooter and mounted a horse for the benefit of photographers; and in Illinois, he ate a typical rural dinner with a dairy farmer. (144) (145) (146)

At a New York City toy factory, Kozlov remarked that his "one big desire" was that "all these tanks, jet planes and rockets remain toys." In formal speeches, he proclaimed the great yearning of the Soviet people for "peace" and declared his country's interest in developing trade with the United States. But when he turned to matters of foreign policy, Kozlov sounded like Khrushchev. Kozlov spoke of "peace" but issued this warning on the Berlin crisis: "If a war is unleashed and force is resorted to, then force will be met by force." (147) (148) (149)

The propaganda mission of both Mikoyan and Kozlov appeared to have a dual purpose: (1) to try to pave the way for a summit meeting between Soviet Premier Khrushchev and President Eisenhower and (2) to convince the American public that Soviet leaders are really sincere, reasonable, "peace-loving" men intent on building a better world for everybody.

In 1959, new exchanges have been made between the United States and the USSR in science, industry, culture, sports, and other fields. To impress the United States with their progress, the Russians spent more than $10,000,000 on the Soviet Exhibition of Science, Technology, and Culture which ran from June 29 to August 10, 1959, in the New York Coliseum. First Deputy Premier Kozlov presided at the opening. The fair touched on nearly every aspect of Russian life from art to city planning. The exhibits ranged from Sputnik nose cones, jet airplane models, and farm machinery to Soviet books, refrigerators, and home furnishings. (150) (151)

In return for this Soviet exhibition, an American exhibition, sponsored by the United States Government in cooperation with American industry, was formally opened on July 24, 1959, in Moscow by Vice President Nixon. (152)

E. Reactions of Communist Bloc Visitors

All foreign communist visitors and members of delegations to the United States are carefully hand-picked and thoroughly indoctrinated before they

The Dwight [illegible] Library

leave their native lands. They are accompanied by intelligence agents and propaganda experts. Although these visitors are outwardly friendly, jovial, and courteous, they have a well-developed technique for sliding over embarrassing questions and for attacking to cover up. They are quick to rationalize. Whatever superficially favorable comments they may make of American life and conditions are promptly negated by sly criticisms, usually by an unfavorable comparison with the "idyllic" life and the "superior" conditions which they claim exist in communist countries. (153) (154) (155) (156) (157)

The attitude of these visitors was clearly manifested recently by two spokesmen for an exchange group of 20 Soviet students at a press conference in Washington, D. C., following a tour of American universities. About the only praiseworthy remarks they made of academic life in this country were that they had been impressed by the physical plants of American institutions and by the eagerness of students to learn about Russia. (158)

One spokesman professed shock that Americans pay to attend college, pointing out that in the USSR any student with the necessary ability could get all the free education he wished. (159) The other spokesman voiced concern for the "militarization" he found on American campuses, alleging that the group saw rockets, tanks, and airplanes "in great numbers." He neglected to explain that the rocket at one university was a dummy on

display, and that the tanks at another college were two light tanks used for training cadets. He did not specify where the aircraft had been seen. (160)

F. Communist Propaganda Gains from Exchanges

Communist propaganda gains from exchanges are obvious when one considers the wide and uninhibited publicity accorded communist bloc visitors and delegations to this country through such communications media as the American press, radio, and television. Mikoyan and Kozlov made front page headlines daily from coast to coast during their trips here. Their itineraries, their reactions, their casual remarks, and their formal speeches were reported in detail, and the news stories concerning them were full of human interest items. Lesser communist bloc visitors and delegations, of course, are not given such complete coverage, but they do receive generous publicity wherever they go. (161) (162) (163)

Dwight D. Eisenhower Library

VI. SOVIET BLOC PRIZES AND HONORS

A. Peace Prizes

The giving of prizes, awards, and honors to Americans by communist countries is another means utilized to create favorable propaganda for the international communist movement and to reward those Americans who have served communism well. Most of the recipients have been known Soviet apologists or communist sympathizers, but a few--like Van Cliburn, the young pianist--have not been in these categories.

The most famous communist bloc prize, of course, was the Stalin international peace prize, awarded "for strengthening the peace among the peoples." Stalin peace prizes were established in 1949 to commemorate Stalin on his 70th birthday. They were usually given annually on December 21--Stalin's birthday--and were accompanied by a $25,000 cash award. (164)

Several Stalin peace prizes were handed out to Americans who have been noteworthy propagandists for the communist cause. The first American recipient was the redoubtable Paul Robeson, who was given one for 1952. The statement issued by the award committee in Moscow illustrated the manner in which propaganda was tied to this award. The committee lauded Robeson as "the standard-bearer of the oppressed Negro

people." (165) As a matter of fact, Robeson has never been the spokesman for the American Negro; to the contrary, responsible Negro leaders have completely repudiated him on numerous occasions.

Howard Fast, for years one of the most widely read and highly publicized foreign authors in the Soviet Union, received a Stalin peace prize for 1953. (166) Within three years' time, however, Fast had a change of heart and renounced his affiliation with the Communist Party, USA. [redacted] Fast publicly recanted communism in an exclusive interview with a reporter for The New York Times. (167) To add insult to injury, Fast announced that he would not return his prize. A Soviet writers' magazine subsequently denounced Fast as a "deserter under fire." (168)

Dr. William E. B. Du Bois was awarded a Lenin international peace prize* for 1958. Nikita Khrushchev headed the list of five winners, which also included an East German labor leader, a Greek writer, and an English journalist. The Lenin prizes carry cash awards valued at $35,000. (169)

*In line with the Soviet Government's de-Stalinization program, in 1956 the name of the Stalin international peace prize was changed to the Lenin international peace prize. (170)

Two Americans have been winners of international peace prizes awarded by the communist-sponsored World Peace Council. Paul Robeson received one for 1950.(171) Another long-time Soviet apologist, the Reverend William Howard Melish, was given this prize for 1955. Melish was formerly chairman of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, * a communist front organization.(172) Each prize included about $14,000 in cash.

B. Awards in Arts and Sciences

Americans have had prizes bestowed on them by Iron Curtain countries as propaganda recognition of their work in the arts and sciences. A New England college instructor was awarded the first prize of $750 in a nationwide poetry translation competition held in 1955 in conjunction with the international commemoration of the centennial of the death of the Polish poet, Adam Mickiewicz. The contest, open to residents of the United States for the best English translation of Mickiewicz's works, was sponsored by the Mickiewicz Centenary Committee of the Polish People's Republic. The competition was dedicated to the "ideals of international friendship." Two second prizes of $500 each and a third prize of $250 were also awarded.(173)

*Designated by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

In the Spring of 1958, Van Cliburn, a 23-year-old Texan, won the international Tchaikovsky piano competition in Moscow. Overnight he was the object of probably the most explosive outpouring of popular acclaim ever accorded an American musician. He was lionized both in the Soviet Union and in the United States. (174)

Two American scientists were honored with membership in the USSR Academy of Sciences in June, 1958. The two were Dr. Detlev W. Bronk, president of both the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research and the National Academy of Sciences, and Dr. Linus C. Pauling, a professor at the California Institute of Technology. Dr. Pauling, a Nobel prize winner in chemistry in 1954, has been an outspoken foe of nuclear weapon tests, and his vehement opposition to nuclear testing has been used by communists to buttress their peace propaganda line. (175) Dr. Pauling has a strong affinity for communist views, causes, and organizations.

C. Miscellaneous Honors

Americans who have rendered valuable propaganda service to the cause of communism have had other honors conferred on them by communist bloc nations. Two staunch "friends" of the "new democracies" were so honored in 1958 during trips they made behind the Iron Curtain. Paul Robeson was named

Dwight D. Eisenhower Library

(176)
an honorary professor of the Moscow State Conservatory of Music, and Dr. William E. B. Du Bois was made an honorary doctor by Humboldt University in East Berlin. Dr. Du Bois also was granted an honorary Doctor of Philosophy degree at Charles University in Prague.

Cyrus S. Eaton, a current American favorite of Soviet propagandists, was presented with a gold medal at an agricultural fair while visiting Russia in 1958 at the invitation of the Soviet Ministry of Agriculture. The medal was bestowed for his "great contribution" to Russian agriculture. Three years before, Eaton had given the Soviet Minister of Agriculture, on the latter's visit to the United States, a prize bull which had been used for breeding
(177)
purposes.

Paul Robeson was also honored by the Soviet Union in 1955 when a main street in a new state farm settlement in the Russian "wastelands" was
(178)
named for him.

VII. MEDIA USED BY SOVIET BLOC DIPLOMATS IN UNITED STATES

A. Social Affairs

Various media are used by Soviet bloc diplomatic officials in the United States as a means of ingratiating themselves with the American people, generating an atmosphere of good will, and spreading propaganda.

Receptions and other social functions given by communist bloc embassies, legations, consulates, and delegations to the United Nations are arranged with a propaganda touch. For instance, receptions are held annually by the diplomatic establishments of these countries to celebrate their respective "independence" days, i.e., the dates on which the communist regime seized power. Included in the list of invited guests to these affairs are Americans, some of them communist sympathizers.

The Soviet Embassy's biggest affair of the year in Washington, D. C., is the reception held each November 7 to commemorate the anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. On this occasion, the Soviet Embassy invites Washington's leaders in diplomatic, Government, business, and social circles, as well as the press. Paul Robeson has been a hardy perennial at these receptions (179) (180) (181) and can be counted on to be present whenever he is in the country.

Dwight D. Eisenhower Library

3. Speeches and Personal Appearances

Speeches by Soviet and satellite diplomatic representatives in this country provide them with unusually good propaganda opportunities. The United Nations, for instance, affords a convenient forum for delegates from communist bloc countries to attack the United States and the West as "reactionary," "imperialistic," and "warmongering," and to proclaim the Soviet Union, Red China, and the East European "democracies" as the apostles of "peace" and "progress."

The late Andrei Vishinsky was probably the USSR's most skillful and vitriolic representative ever to appear in the United States. As Soviet delegate to the United Nations until his death in 1954, he was notorious as the most violent and vituperative of Soviet spokesmen against the West, especially the United States. In all his speeches before the United Nations during the period 1949-1954, Vishinsky recited the Soviet line of the moment. On the occasion of most speeches, he employed a campaign of invective to discredit the United States. (182)

Soviet and satellite ambassadors have also, on occasions, made propaganda speeches before communist front organizations in the United States. In November, 1951, for instance, Soviet Ambassador Alexander Panyushkin spoke at a mass meeting of the National Council of American-

Soviet Friendship in New York City commemorating the 34th anniversary of the founding of the USSR and the 18th anniversary of the establishment of the United States diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union.

Polish Ambassador Joseph Winiewicz was the main speaker at the 10th anniversary celebration of the Warsaw ghetto uprising which was held in New York City in April, 1953, by another communist front group.

Until a few years ago, officials of communist bloc nations in Washington rarely ventured outside their tight diplomatic world to meet large numbers of Americans face to face. In 1956, however, the Russian Embassy began sending speakers to civic, student, and church groups in the Washington metropolitan area to propagandize on behalf of the Soviet Union.(183) (184) For instance, Alexander T. Ustinov, First Secretary of the Soviet Embassy, boasted to a group of students at the University of Maryland in October, 1957, that Russia's intercontinental ballistic missile was capable of hitting a target "exactly."(185) A few months later, Ustinov told the Kiwanis Club of Bethesda, Maryland, that there was freedom of the press, speech, and religion in Soviet Russia. When asked why there was only one political party in that country, he explained that less than "one-half of one per cent" of the Russian people wanted another party. (186)

Dwight D. Eisenhower Library

C. Activities of Officials

In the Fall of 1957, Vladimir Lavrov, Counselor of the Soviet Embassy, wrote some newspaper editors that he and three Embassy secretaries wanted to see something of American life. Arrangements were made forthwith and Lavrov, together with his three colleagues, toured states from Maryland to Ohio. They lunched with Rotarians; visited homes, farms, and high schools; danced with teen-agers; admired babies; and otherwise exuded charm and good will. At question sessions, they hewed to the Communist Party line. When queried concerning the Hungarian uprising, for example, they claimed it was the work of some "fanatics." (187)

In March, 1958, Sergei Striganov, Soviet Military Attache, addressed a four-day symposium at the University of North Carolina on United States relations with the USSR. When asked about the number of slave labor camps in the Soviet Union, Striganov countered with the remark: "I have heard of a place called Little Rock."

A new type of communist diplomat made an appearance in Washington early in 1958 in the person of affable, good-looking Soviet Ambassador Mikhail A. Menshikov. Since he came to Washington, he has proved to be a stellar propaganda attraction for the USSR. Menshikov presents quite a contrast to the surly aloofness of most of his predecessors in the Capital.

He speaks excellent English, has a surprising knowledge of American idioms, possesses a ready smile and a quick laugh, and shakes hands with easy familiarity. The press soon dubbed him "Smiling Mike." (188) (189) (190)

On his arrival in the United States, Menshikov immediately paid his respects to President Eisenhower and the late Secretary of State Dulles, and made his rounds of Capitol Hill, calling on leading congressional figures. He made an appearance before the National Press Club soon after arriving in Washington. Since then, he has made a number of speeches from coast to coast and has appeared on radio and television. (191) (192) (193)

In questions put to him in his public appearances, Menshikov repeats the main features of Soviet foreign policy. In these encounters, he has displayed considerable versatility, imagination, and deftness. Once, when asked about the Red Army's intervention in the Hungarian revolt, he justified the action by claiming that the Hungarian Government had requested Russia to intercede. Another time, on being questioned as to whether purges were necessary, he blandly replied that he did not know what purges the questioner was talking about. In explaining the Soviet ban on Boris Pasternak's book, Dr. Zhivago, he declared that it contains slanderous attacks against the Soviet people and their "revolutionary achievements." (194) (195) (196)

Even Soviet children in the United States get into the propaganda act. In April, 1959, six fourth-grade pupils of the Soviet Embassy school in

The Dwight D. Eisenhower Library

Washington, D. C., chosen for their proficiency in English, visited the Hillandale, Maryland, elementary school, where they met with American students studying Russian. The Russian children were accompanied by their principal, who presented the Hillandale school with Russian primers, Soviet children's magazines, and post cards of Moscow. The Russian children distributed medals and pins showing a new Moscow University building and a new Russian passenger jet airplane. Another medal handed out depicted Soviet workers and bore the inscription "Peace to the World." The principal of the Hillandale school accepted an invitation to visit the Embassy school. (197)

D. Embassy Tours

In recent years, the Soviet Embassy, as a propaganda gesture, has conducted tours of its ornate building in Washington for select groups, mostly students of elementary and high school age. A staff member of the Embassy will show the group through the Golden Hall and other public rooms of the Embassy, which are decorated with works of art. Among these are paintings of Russian scenes and people, large portraits of Lenin and Stalin, busts of Pushkin and Lenin, and exhibits of china and sculpture in showcases. One of the figures is a dove, which, the guide explains, symbolizes the dove of peace for the people of the USSR, as well as those of other countries. The high light of the tour is a 60-minute motion picture on Russian life. As the visitors leave the Embassy, they are handed Russian magazines published in English. (198)

VIII. EPILOGUE

In this series of studies on communist propaganda in the United States, we have seen the tremendous importance which communists place on agitation and propaganda. By way of reiteration, it can be said that, over the years, leaders of the international communist movement--as well as those in the United States--have valued, stressed, and used agitation and propaganda above and beyond all other types of activity. Propaganda has always been the most powerful single weapon in the communist armory as the means for stimulating the consciousness of the masses in noncommunist countries, guiding them toward communism, and preparing and organizing them for eventual revolutionary activity.

It is difficult to assess the effectiveness of the communist propaganda effort to which the United States has been subjected during the 40 years the organized communist movement has existed here. But measured in terms of originality, diversity, vigor, and vastness, the communist propaganda achievement must be considered to be a substantial one.

Communist propagandists have forged propaganda into a sharp, formidable instrument. Both here and abroad, they have exhibited remarkable ingenuity and versatility in employing propaganda with effective results. They are constantly demonstrating a new and alarming proficiency in its use.

The Dwight D. Eisenhower Library

UNCLASSIFIED
CONFIDENTIAL

The future will see no diminution in the communist propaganda leveled against the American people both from within and from without. On the contrary, there is every reason to expect that the communist propaganda mill will keep grinding in greater volume, variety, and intensity in the years ahead.

All of us must be aware that the propaganda effort constitutes an important--if not the most important--phase in the ever-mounting communist offensive against the United States and the rest of the free world. We must always remember that communists, in their goal of ultimate world domination, employ propaganda in conjunction with and in coordination with their political, military, conspiratorial, diplomatic, economic, and psychological weapons. We must never underestimate nor minimize the audacity, resourcefulness, and skillfulness of communists in utilizing propaganda to their own best advantage.

A thorough knowledge of the theory, objectives, organization, target groups, techniques, and mediums of communist propaganda, which have been enumerated and explained in this series of monographs, should better equip us to win the unceasing and unremitting battle being waged by communists to capture the minds and the loyalties of the American people and free people everywhere.

CONFIDENTIAL
UNCLASSIFIED

SOURCES

1. Communist Propaganda Activities in the United States. Hearings before the Subcommittee To Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws of the Committee on the Judiciary, U. S. Senate, 82nd Congress, 1st Session, July, August, and September, 1951 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1952), p. VII.

2. Worldwide Communist Propaganda Activities. Edited by F. Bowen Evans (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1955), p. 71.

3. Investigation of Communist Propaganda in the United States. Hearings before the Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, 84th Congress, 2nd Session, June 13 and July 17, 1956 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1956), Part 1, pp. 4697-4698, Part 2, p. 5424.

4. Communist Political Propaganda and Use of United States Mails. Hearings before the Subcommittee To Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws of the Committee on the Judiciary, U. S. Senate, 86th Congress, 1st Session, March 26, 1959 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1959), pp. 6, 13, 16.

5. Worldwide Communist Propaganda Activities, op. cit., p. 77.

6. The New York Times, July 29, 1956, p. 4.

7. The Washington Post and Times Herald, May 22, 1959, p. B-4.

8. Ibid., June 19, 1956, p. 24.

9. Time, July 30, 1956, p. 50.

10. Daily Worker, September 20, 1937, p. 4.

11. The Washington Post and Times Herald, June 24, 1955, p. 10.

The Dwight D. Eisenhower Library

12. Report of the Subcommittee To Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws to the Committee on the Judiciary, U. S. Senate, 84th Congress, 2nd Session, Section VI, December 31, 1956 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1957), p. 85.

13. Ibid.

14. Investigation of Communist Propaganda in the United States, op. cit., Part 1, pp. 4695-4696.

15. Ibid.

16. Ibid.

17. The Evening Star (Washington, D. C.), June 23, 1955, p. A-20.

18. Communist Propaganda Activities in the United States, op. cit., p. V.

19. Investigation of Communist Propaganda in the United States, op. cit., Part 1, p. 4697.

20. Worldwide Communist Propaganda Activities, op. cit., p. 78.

21. The New York Times, June 16, 1957, Section 1, p. 3.

22. The Washington Post and Times Herald, February 25, 1958, p. A-1.

23. Ibid., February 27, 1958, p. A-1.

24. Time, December 15, 1958, pp. 12-14.

25. N. S. Khrushchov, Speeches and Interviews on World Problems (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1958), pp. 44-59, 199-226, 261-282, 303-335.

26. The Washington Post and Times Herald, November 10, 1958, p. A-1.

27. Time, July 6, 1959, p. 41.

28. The Evening Star, July 3, 1959, p. A-3.

29. The Washington Post and Times Herald, July 9, 1959, p. A-4.

30. Ibid., July 13, 1959, p. A-6.

31. Target: The World--Communist Propaganda Activities in 1955. Edited by Evron M. Kirkpatrick. Prepared by Office of Research and Intelligence, United States Information Agency (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1956), p. 62.

32. Ibid., pp. 69, 72, 75.

33. Ibid., pp. 25, 28.

34. The New York Times, April 10, 1953, p. 30.

35. Ibid.

36. The Reader's Digest, May, 1956, p. 112.

37. The Evening Star, January 16, 1957, p. A-6.

38. Ibid., January 25, 1958, p. A-5.

39. The World Almanac, 1959 (New York: New York World-Telegram and The Sun, 1959), p. 84.

40. The New York Times, December 20, 1956, p. 21.

41. Ibid., December 31, 1956, p. 27.

42. The Evening Star, June 3, 1957, pp. A-3, A-12.

43. Ibid., July 2, 1957, p. A-13.

44. The Washington Post and Times Herald, September 15, 1958, p. A-18.

45. Ibid., September 22, 1958, p. A-6.

46. The New York Times, September 28, 1958, Section 2, p. 18.



47. Ibid., October 5, 1958, Section 2, p. 18.

48. Ibid., October 12, 1958, Section 2, p. 14.

49. The Washington Post and Times Herald, September 15, 1958, p. A-18.

50. Ibid., September 22, 1958, p. A-6.

51. The New York Times, January 9, 1959, p. 1.

52. The Washington Post and Times Herald, July 3, 1959, p. A-1.

53. Ibid., July 4, 1959, p. A-4.

54. Ibid.

55. "William Benton Reports on the Voice of the Kremlin," 1956 Britannica Book of the Year (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1956), pp. 17, 18.

56. Leonard W. Doob, Public Opinion and Propaganda (London: The Cresset Press, 1949), p. 502.

57. Daily Worker, May 2, 1956, p. 6.

58. Investigation of Un-American Activities in the United States. Extract from Hearings before a Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, 75th Congress, 3rd Session, on H. Res. 282 (Statement of Walter S. Steele) (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1938), pp. 237-238.

59. Daily Worker, May 2, 1956, p. 6.

60. The Sunday Star (Washington, D. C.), March 25, 1956, p. E-3.

61. Worldwide Communist Propaganda Activities, op. cit., pp. 82, 83, 84, 85.

62. New York Post, June 5, 1958, p. 36.

63. The Worker, June 28, 1959, p. 16.

64. Ibid., July 12, 1959, p. 11.

65. Daily Worker, March 16, 1955, p. 7.

66. The Washington Post and Times Herald, December 2, 1958, p. A-8.

67. The Evening Star, January 7, 1959, p. A-30.

68. Worldwide Communist Propaganda Activities, op. cit., p. 89.

69. Daily Worker, January 6, 1927, p. 5.

70. Ibid., October 21, 1927, p. 1.

71. William Z. Foster, The New Europe (New York: International Publishers, 1947).

72. Political Affairs, December, 1956, back cover.

73. Ibid., January, 1957, p. 19.

74. The Worker, June 17, 1956, p. 4.

75. Benjamin Gitlow, The Whole of Their Lives (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1948), pp. 174-176.

76. Daily Worker, December 17, 1936, p. 1.

77. Time, September 15, 1958, p. 84.

78. The New York Times, October 12, 1958, p. 12.

79. Time, September 15, 1958, p. 84.

80. The Sunday Star, December 14, 1958, p. A-27.

81. Ibid., January 25, 1959, p. A-6.

82. The Washington Post and Times Herald, January 8, 1959.

83. The Worker, April 12, 1959, p. 9.

84. The New Leader, March 10, 1958, pp. 10-12.

85. The Evening Star, December 3, 1956, p. A-8.

86. Ibid., April 12, 1957, p. A-9.

87. The Washington Post and Times Herald, January 28, 1958, p. A-1.

88. The Evening Star, July 5, 1957, p. A-9.

89. The New York Times, September 9, 1956, Section 1, p. 26.

90. The Washington Post and Times Herald, April 20, 1959, p. A-3.

91. Time, June 22, 1959, pp. 75-76.

92. The Washington Post and Times Herald, March 17, 1958, p. A-15.

93. Ibid., August 4, 1958, p. A-1.

94. Ibid., November 22, 1958, p. A-10.

95. The Evening Star, March 26, 1956, p. A-10.

96. Ibid., May 24, 1956, p. A-19.

97. Ibid., May 18, 1957, p. A-7.

98. Ibid., July 5, 1957, p. A-9.

99. The New York Times, January 26, 1958, p. 5.

100. Ibid., August 17, 1958, p. 31.

101. The Washington Post and Times Herald, March 17, 1958, p. A-15.

102. The Evening Star, March 31, 1959, p. A-11.

103. Daily Worker, April 1, 1957, p. 1.

104. The Worker, December 22, 1957, p. 1.

105. New World Review, September, 1956, p. 27.

106. Ibid., p. 26.

107. The New York Times, July 11, 1956, p. 12.

108. Ibid., September 4, 1957, p. 9.

109. Ibid., July 16, 1958, p. 20.

110. Ibid., August 13, 1958, p. 29.

111. New World Review, September, 1956, p. 27.

112. The Washington Post and Times Herald, November 22, 1958, p. A-10.

113. The Evening Star, April 12, 1957, p. A-9.

114. Ibid., July 5, 1957, p. A-9.

115. Ibid., August 2, 1958, p. A-1.

116. Ibid., November 18, 1958, p. B-1.

117. The Sunday Star, December 30, 1956, p. A-16.

118. The Worker, December 22, 1957, p. 11.

119. Ibid.

120. Ibid., April 5, 1959, p. 9.

121. The Evening Star, December 16, 1958, p. B-15.

122. The New York Times, April 15, 1958, p. 41.

123. Ibid., January 18, 1959, p. 4.

124. Time, May 4, 1959, pp. 44, 46.

125. The Worker, December 22, 1957, pp. 1, 11.

126. Ibid., March 17, 1958, p. A-15.

The Dwight D. Eisenhower Library

127. The New York Times, January 18, 1959, Section 1, p. 4.

128. Sports Illustrated, November 24, 1958, p. 19.

129. The Washington Post and Times Herald, August 4, 1958, p. A-1.

130. Ibid., November 19, 1958, p. B-1.

131. Ibid., November 22, 1958, p. A-10.

132. Ibid., December 8, 1958, p. B-3.

133. The Evening Star, August 30, 1958, p. A-10.

134. The Washington Post and Times Herald, June 2, 1959, p. A-4.

135. Time, January 19, 1959, pp. 18-19.

136. The New York Times, January 19, 1959, p. 10.

137. The Evening Star, January 16, 1959, p. A-6.

138. Ibid.

139. Ibid., January 20, 1959, p. A-8.

140. Time, January 19, 1959, pp. 18-19.

141. The Washington Post and Times Herald, June 30, 1959, p. A-1.

142. Ibid., July 2, 1959, p. A-1.

143. Ibid., July 4, 1959, p. A-4.

144. Ibid., July 3, 1959, p. A-5.

145. Ibid., July 10, 1959, p. A-7.

146. The Evening Star, July 6, 1959, p. A-3.

147. The New York Times, July 5, 1959, Section 4, p. 1.

148. The Washington Post and Times Herald, July 1, 1959, p. A-4.

149. Ibid., July 3, 1959, p. A-1.

150. Ibid., June 30, 1959, pp. A-1, A-12.

151. Time, July 6, 1959, p. 68.

152. The Evening Star, July 25, 1959, p. A-11.

153. Ibid., July 13, 1959, p. A-5.

154. Ibid., August 2, 1958, p. A-1.

155. The Reader's Digest, May, 1956, pp. 57-61.

156. The Washington Post and Times Herald, August 4, 1958, p. A-1.

157. Life, March 23, 1959, p. 114.

158. The Evening Star, August 2, 1958, p. A-1.

159. The Washington Post and Times Herald, August 4, 1958, p. A-1.

160. Ibid.

161. Ibid., January 19, 1959, pp. 18-19.

162. The New York Times, January 19, 1959, p. 10.

163. The Washington Post and Times Herald, July 3, 1959, p. A-1.

164. Ibid., September 9, 1956, p. A-6.

165. The New York Times, December 22, 1952, p. 11.

166. Masses & Mainstream, May, 1954, pp. 35-37.

167. The New York Times, February 1, 1957, p. 1.



168. Ibid., August 25, 1957, p. 36.

169. The Washington Post and Times Herald, May 1, 1959, p. A-6.

170. The Evening Star, September 9, 1956, p. A-6.

171. The New York Times, December 18, 1950, p. 28.

172. The Sunday Star, April 29, 1956, Section A, p. 5.

173. Daily Worker, July 6, 1956, p. 6.

174. Time, May 19, 1958, pp. 58-69.

175. The New York Times, June 22, 1958, p. 1.

176. The Evening Star, September 13, 1958, p. A-1.

177. Time, September 15, 1958, p. 84.

178. The New York Times, April 3, 1955, p. 17.

179. The Washington Post and Times Herald, November 8, 1956, p. C-19.

180. Ibid., November 8, 1958, p. C-3.

181. The Evening Star, November 8, 1957, p. B-1.

182. The New York Times, November 23, 1954, p. 1.

183. The Washington Post and Times Herald, May 2, 1956, p. 21.

184. The Evening Star, May 17, 1956, p. A-31.

185. New York Herald Tribune, Paris, October 18, 1957, p. 2.

186. The Washington Post and Times Herald, March 26, 1958, p. A-10.

187. Life, November 11, 1957, pp. 60-62.

188. Time, March 17, 1958, p. 19.

189. New Leader, November 10, 1958, p. 19.

190. Northern Virginia Sun, March 10, 1958, p. 4.

191. Time, March 17, 1958, p. 19.

192. The Evening Star, November 15, 1958, p. A-3.

193. The New York Times, November 20, 1958, p. 2.

194. Ibid., p. 12.

195. Time, March 17, 1958, p. 19.

196. New Leader, November 10, 1958, p. 19.

197. The Washington Post and Times Herald, April 25, 1959, p. B-1.

198. The Sunday Star, November 16, 1958, Magazine Section, pp. 11-15.